Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USCINCEUR

USNMR SHAPE

SECRETUSNATO 1065

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR: MEASURES FOR THE FLANKS

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

REF: STATE 35106

BEGIN SUMMARY: AT FEB 25 SPC MEETING, THE GREEK AND TURKISH REPS DISAGREED WITH US REPS USE OF RECIPROCITY ARGUMENT AGAINST MEASURE CALLING FOR PUTTING WITHDRAWN SOVIET FORCES INTO RESERVE. MISSION BELIEVES THAT KEY TO RESOLUTION OF DIFFICULT FLANKS ISSUE MAY LIE IN STRENGTH OF GENERAL PRO-VISION ON WHICH WASHINGTON PLANS TO CIRCULATE VIEWS IN NATO IN NEAR FUTURE. END SUMMARY SECRET

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1. DRAWING ON REFTEL AND EARLIER GUIDANCE, US REP GAVE RATIONALE FOR US OPPOSITION TO MEASURE 2 IN PARA 30 CALLING FOR PUTTING WITHDRAWN SOVIET FORCES IN RESERVE. HIS PRINCIPAL POINTS WERE THAT (A) ACCEPTING ANY SUCH COUNTERPROPOSALS COULD SEVERELY CONSTRAIN THE REINFORCEMENT CAPABILITIES OF US FORCES, INCLUDING THOSE THAT MIGHT NEED TO BE DEPLOYED RAPIDLY IN TIMES OF TENSION TO THE FLANKS; (B) IT WOULD BE ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO VERIFY SUCH A MEASURE WITHOUT A DEGREE OF OBTRUSIVENESS WHICH WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES; AND (C) THAT IT COULD ALSO INTERFERE WITH ALLIED FORCE IMPROVEMENTS AND OTHER COMPENSATORY ARRANGEMENTS IN NATO. FURTHERMORE, GIVEN THE PRESENT SOVIET EMPHASIS ON NON-US NATO FORCES IN VIENNA, THE SOVIETS MIGHT RESPOND BY ASKING FOR COMPARABLE LIMITATIONS ON THOSE FORCES AS WELL.

- 2. GREEK REP EXPRESSED "SURPRISE" THAT US REP WOULD BASE HIS ARGUMENT ON RECIPROCITY, SINCE THE FOUNDATION OF THE ALLIED POSITION ON MBFR IS THE LACK OF RECIPROCITY. FEAR OF RECIPROCAL SOVIET DEMANDS DID NOT PREVENT ALLIANCE FROM FORMULATING A POSITION FOR THE CENTRAL REGION BASED ON ASYMMETRY. ALLIES WERE, IN FACT, TRYING TO IMPROVE ALLIANCE SECURITY IN THE CENTRAL REGION, WHILE ALL FLANKS WERE ASKING WAS THAT ALLIES TAKE STEPS TO AVOID DETERIORATION OF SITUATION IN THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN REGIONS. TURKISH REP SAID THAT TURKEY COULD NOT ACCPT IMPLICATION OF DIFFERENT BALANCES IN DIFFERENT REGIONS. ALLIANCE SECURITY WAS INDIVISIBLE, AND IT WAS NECESSARY TO HAVE BALANCE BETWEEN BLOCS AND NOT BETWEEN REGIONS.
- 3. US REP RESPONDED THAT US WAS NOT USING DIFFERENT CRITERIA OF RECIPROCITY. ALLIED PROPOSALS ON STABILIZING MEASURES AND VERIFICATION TOOK ACCOUNT OF RECIPROCITY. EVEN REDUCTIONS PROPOSALS CALLED FOR EQUAL PERCENTAGE CUTS OF US AND SOVIET FORCES, AND HAD AS A GOAL BALANCED RECIPROCITY THROUGH COMMON CEILING. BELGIAN AND DUTCH REPS JOUNED UK IN SUPPORTING US POSITION.
- 4. CHAIRMAN ASKED COMMITTEE TO ADDRESS MEASURES 3 THRU 6 IN PARA 30 AT NEXT DISCUSSION, ON MAR 4.
- 5. COMMENT: GREEK AND TURKISH REPS TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT THEY DO NOT REALLY EXPECT TO THE US TO ACCEPT ANY OF THE MEASURES IN SECRET

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PARA 30 AS SEPARATE PROPOSALS TO THE EAST, AND THEY ACKNOWLEDGE THAT AN AGREEMENT PROVISION OF A RELATIVELY GENERAL NATURE IS THE BEST THEY CAN HOPE FOR. THEY ARGUE THAT THEIR MILITARY AUTHORITIES DO NOT EXPECT MUCH CONSIDERATION FROM THE USSR, BUT ARE HOPING FOR SOME FROM THEIR ALLIES. KEY QUESTION, THEY SAID, WOULD BE WHETHER THIS PROVISION CONTAINS ANY "MUSCLE", AND WILL GIVE THEM SOME RECOURSE IN CASE SOVIETS DEPLOY SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF WITHDRAWN FORCES. WHETHER OR NOT SOVIETS ACCEPT A TOUGH PROVISION, IT WOULD DEMONSTRATE TO GOVTS AND PUBLIC OPINION IN FLANK COUNTRIES THAT ALLIANCE AT LEAST WAS MINDFUL OF FLANKS' CONCERNS.

6. TO RESOLVE THIS CONTENTIOUS ISSUE WITH THE FLANKS, MISSION HOPES THAT WASHINGTON WILL INCORPORATE FIRM LANGUAGE IN ITS PROSPECTIVE PAPER WHICH, WHILE NOT PROVIDING THE SOVIETS WITH AN

OPENING FOR MAKING UNACCEPTABLE COUNTERPROPOSALS, WILL DEMONSTRATE US WILLINGNESS TO DEFEND STAUNCHLY ALLIED FLANK COUNTRIES' SECURITY INTERESTS IN MBFR. MISSION BELIEVES, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT PHRASE "TROOP DEPLOYMENTS" SHOULD FIGURE IN US CONTRIBUTION. PAPER MIGHT ALSO COMMENT THAT ANY NON-CIRCUMVENTION CLAUSE WOULD ALSO APPLY TO PROVISION ON UNDIMINISHED SECURITY. RUMSFELD

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TAGS: PFOR, NATO

To: STATE SECDEF INFO ANKARA ATHENS

BONN LONDON **ROME** VIENNA

USCINCEUR
USNMR SHAPE
Type: TE
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